Well, it's Spring


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*A GUARDIAN EXCLUSIVE*

# The story behind the Montgomery trial

Special to the GUARDIAN

MONTGOMERY, ALA.

A RULED BOX in boldface type on the front page of the Montgomery **Advertiser** for Saturday, March 24, had this to say about the four-day trial of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.:

"The boycott trial of Rev. M. L. King, in addition to attracting the widest news coverage for any single trial in Montgomery County history, produced an awesome collection of court records."

It is highly unlikely that either the press clips or the records, however full, will contain these remarks from members of the crowd of Negroes moving reluctantly down the courthouse steps after Judge Carter convicted 27-year old Rev. King of conspiracy, and fined him $500. A middle-aged woman who had attended each session:

"Well, they did it now. They done throwed the fat in the fire down here in Montgomery, **today!**"

A tall, elderly domestic worker who had been a defense witness:

"They got me mad, now. I **thought** I was mad before, but I didn't **even** know, honey, I was just warmin' up to get mad. I'll tell all of 'em, I'll tell the whole world I been **proud** of being a Negro all my life and I'm real **extra proud** today."

**WHITE NOT RIGHT:** Two old men in overalls were walking slowly past the raised courthouse lawn where several of the white citizens of Montgomery gathered in jaw-sagging amazement to watch the demonstration for Rev. King. One (loud enough to be heard for a block): "Well, **now,** just ain't NO-body gon' ride **them** old buses no more." The second (chuckling, and equally audible): "Yeah, y'all might as well go on and sell 'em now, I reckon!"

A young veteran, currently a student at Alabama State College for Negroes:

*(Continued on Page 3)*

*TABITHA PETRAN FROM PARIS*

# All West Europe sees a new peace offensive in Soviet re-evaluation

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

WESTERN EUROPE stands on the threshold of a new and considerably more fluid period of international relations. Even in France, where a sense of national urgency is sweeping through the country as the Algerian crisis deepens, the feeling persists that a less strained and rigid—if more complex—phase of world relations is beginning. One factor in this perspective is the widespread expectation that a far more ambitious Soviet diplomacy, directed toward W. Europe, is in the making.

For whatever the meaning of the reports from Moscow of a reassessment of the Stalin era, W. European diplomats interpret the Soviet leaders' "denunciation of Stalinism," following on the decisions of the 20th Soviet Communist Party Congress, as the first step of a new Soviet "peace offensive." The new Soviet line, in the view of British officials, said **Le Monde** (3/20), is dictated largely by opportunism: in foreign policy its "advantages are undeniable." The "calculated leak" of the Khrushchev speech is linked to the coming visit in Britain of the U.S.S.R.'s Bulganin and Khruschchev, a visit which "may now have far more importance than originally foreseen."

**POPULAR FRONT SPUR:** In what is termed the "'new flexibility" of Soviet policy, many here see a spur to the formation of popular front governments, both in France and Italy, and to a further deterioration in Chancellor Adenauer's position in W. Germany. European chancellories perceive in the Soviet "peace offensive" (which they are sure is coming) both a serious challenge to the West and the perspective of a real relaxing of international tensions.

It was in this expectant atmosphere that disarmament talks among the U.S., U.S.S.R., France, Britain and Canada (the UN Disarmament Subcommittee) were resumed in London. Cynicism, generated by the West's

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# Anybody figure out what the farm bill does?

By Lawrence Emery

SINCE DWIGHT EISENHOWER has been President, farmers' take-home pay has gone rocketing down by 30%, prices paid by consumers have gone rocketing up and Big Business profits have hit all-time highs. But Eisenhower's farm chief Ezra Benson had nothing to offer the farmer except the one thing guaranteed to make his plight worse: a reduction of government price supports on farm products.

By last October farm unrest had become so acute that rumors were rife in Washington of a Cabinet split on the Eisenhower farm program. It was said that some Cabinet members had tried to oust Benson. To quell these stories, Benson flew out to Denver where the President, from his hospital room, declared his complete support of Benson and his adamant opposition to fixed price supports on basic crops at 90% of parity. Since then the political battle over farm policy has been simmering to a boil and last month the lid blew off.

**WILD MANEUVERS:** Two years ago the Administration had succeeded in knocking out fixed price props in favor of a flexible scale. Last year the House adopted a farm bill restoring them to 90%. This year the Senate Agriculture Committee by one vote restored the 90% figure to the bill it reported out. Eisenhower promptly announced that this would "defeat the main object" of his soil bank plan. Under this plan farmers would be paid to take land out of production on the theory that curtailed crops would reduce government-held surpluses and thereby eventually set everything to rights. For nearly a month the battle raged in the Senate over the basic issue of raising or lowering price supports.

Administration forces succeeded early in the fight in knocking out the 90% provisions but in the end supporters of higher props won out by increasing them through indirect means. The battle produced what the N.Y. **Times** described as "some of the wildest political maneuvering in recent years."

**SCRAMBLED CHAOS:** During the course of it the once-solid "farm bloc" came apart and was replaced by a dazzling series of rapidly changing coalitions of region against region and commodity against commodity. Secy. Benson was accused of "unprincipled" lobbying, of "buying votes," of making deals. At one point there was talk of a move to impeach him. Each side was accused of stalling final action for political reasons. Republicans charged that Democrats were working for a bill the President would veto and thus give them a campaign issue. During the frantic log-rolling and politicking, the farmer seemed forgotten.

Dowling in N.Y. Herald Tribune
**Courage, the doctor's on the way.**

In the end the original Senate committee bill, itself a makeshift, had been amended 41 times and few if any in Congress knew exactly what was in it or what it meant. No one was satisfied with it.

The bill must now go to a Senate-House conference to try to iron out differences between the Senate measure and the one adopted by the House last year. Conferees assembled a staff of experts to unscramble the chaos.

**HOUSE IN NO HURRY:** But time was running out for both Democrats and Republicans—the spring planting season is at hand. If any farm legislation was to be of any help to the farmer this year, it would have to be enacted at once. And both parties in this campaign year were desperately eager to get something to the farmer for which they could claim his vote.

On March 21 the President intimated a veto of the measure as it now stands:

"I don't think it is a good bill, I don't think it is workable."

But the House Agriculture Committee showed no disposition to hurry; it announced that a final bill might not be ready for action until after the Congressional Easter recess which ends April 9.

In the meantime, all sides were pondering the results of the Minnesota Presidential primaries; almost all experts conceded that the surprising vote for Estes Kefauver in nominally Republican rural territory was a sure sign of a farm revolt going far deeper than most politicians cared to believe.

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### Protest, not boycott

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Boycott means "to ban," or an "illegal, unlawful, unauthorized act"—"outlawry."

Protest means "oppose," "resist," "disobey," "rebel," "defy."

Negroes are not banning bus operation in Montgomery. They are not performing any unlawful act. They are protesting the unlawful and unjust acts of the white supremacists.

In this sense, what they are doing is in keeping with their dignity and their Constitutional rights. The origin of this kind of action is written deep in the history of our country and of the struggles of the Negro people themselves.

It goes back to 1776. It found expression in the leadership of Nat Turner and Denmark Vesey, religous leaders, who organized resistance to slavery through united action as well as religious remonstrations.

In the context of our times, it conforms to the aspirations of over half the human race which is "colored" and which is demanding an end to racism.

**James W. Ford**

### For independence

PUEBLO, COLO.

I experienced numerous chuckles, serious thoughts and grim reminders from "Roll Out the Barrel."

I fully agree with Mr. Aronson that we should not "join the boys." Time for forming the base for a Progressive Party is now. What may seem the waste of a liberal vote now will in reality be the first timber in a Noah's Ark for the inevitable deluge to come.

**Paul Stewart**

•

LORAIN, O.

The March 5 GUARDIAN was the best I ever saw, and James Aronson's "Spectator" article was the crowning piece—particularly the last part, beginning "Shall we join the boys?" I have been working on that theme all-out since last October. Until about mid-January responses were maddingly slow, few and far between. But, little by little they have been progressively picking up; and their quality is good.

**R. Grant**

•

LAKE GROVE, N. Y.

Hurrah for your "Roll Out the Barrel." Hope the independent political "thing" to be talked about is "how," and no longer "whether or not."

**Max Bedacht**

### Detective story

NEW YORK, N. Y.

In Feb. 1955, **Monthly Review** carried an article of mine, "Common Sense on the Soviet Union," holding that the example of the USSR in building a socialist society could be most convincingly presented if its achievements were not exaggerated. My article was a factual commentary on one by Tim Buck, leader of the Canadian Communists, that had been reprinted in the U. S. magazine **Political Affairs**. His was, I thought, a typical instance of making the sky bluer than it is.

As a result, I find myself involved in an international detective story. A Canadian, Harry Fistell, completely unknown to me, has written me that responsible Canadian Communists allege that he is the author of that article, and that I merely lent it my name.

His story is unfortunately given some support by an intriguing paragraph in **National Affairs** (Tim Buck, chairman, editorial committee): "Last summer Fistell and V. Watson visited the editor of the **Monthly Review** in New York. This visit was followed by a vicious article in **Monthly Review** attacking Tim Buck's estimation of the situation in the Soviet Union and the United States. Fistell circulated this scurrilous article."

**MR** did not ask me to write my article. I wrote it on my own volition for another publication, which rejected it. I then showed it to Corliss Lamont, among others. He suggested that it appear in **MR**, and submitted it to editor Leo Huberman with my agreement. That's the story.

I hope this will set the record straight before it becomes twisted any further. I bring the matter to light in this way to cause all progressives to think hard on what this sort of thing may do in a period that needs all the unity possible.

**William Mandel**

### How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

**Magistrate Anthony Maglio today blasted the current all-out war on traffic violators, charging the "police are too over-zealous in handing out summonses," and that a situation is being created that "makes it ripe for the spread of communism."**

—N. Y. Journal American, March 7, 1956.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: L. E., New York City. Be sure to enclose original clipping with entry.

### Hey, Rube!

BURBANK, CALIF.

Praise for the Central Valley Project articles by my fellow-townsman, Reuben W. Borough! They are timely (in truth, urgently needed), informative, presented simply and honestly with Mr. Borough's well-established integrity. I believe they have an immense value in reducing the vast reservoir of ignorance which prevails in California regarding not only the necessity of completing CVP with the least possible delay, but establishing it forever as a publicly-owned and managed enterprise.

**Guy W. Finney**

### Bill Esterman

CYNWYD, PA.

I suppose that almost any death is a defeat for humanity, but Bill Esterman's is particularly so. He had practised law with singular skill and probity; he had served the oppressed with a kind of loving zeal. And now he falls, as it seems, a sacrifice to his own goodness.

The saints are "athletes of the Lord," as Saint Melania said, who must be presumed to have known. They have, that is to say, talent and discipline and dedication. Bill Esterman, having all these, was never vanquished, and he made others strong.

Then green be his memory and fair his name. In the universal rise toward socialism we are all contemporaries, and, while the future lives, we cannot die.

**Barrows Dunham**

•

LA CRESCENTA, CALIF.

The cold war has claimed another victim in Bill Esterman, a fighter for human decency and freedom in a hundred courtrooms. Charter member of the Lawyers' Guild and at various times president of the Beverly Hills and Los Angeles chapters, candidate for Congress in the 20th District on the Progressive Party ticket, everlastingly overworked with profitless cases in which injustice had to be fought against odds that seemed hopeless, Bill wore out his heart in the service of us all.

A loyal supporter of the GUARDIAN, he would, I am sure, have chosen that the enclosed $10 go to you in place of flowers.

**Hugh Hardyman**

### Citrus strike

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.

The second phase of the citrus crop will be at its peak next month. For most of this season fruit has brought an extra good price. Oranges have brought $2 per field box on the tree where in most past seasons they brought around $1.

Fruit pickers of the United Agricultural Workers Union have called a strike for the week of April 2, 1956. We expect to win a union contract with a raise in picking rate to 20 cents per box.

Polk County produces and processes more than half the products of the Florida industry. It is in Polk County where the strike is being called and of course we will have help from surrounding counties. It will not be easy to crack the hard shell of union busting and race hatred but it must be done before we can make any forward movement, and we can do it in the near future if we can enlist the support of the rank and file in the North. Any help we can get in the strike will be greatly appreciated.

**Emmett Carter**

**Address: United Agricultural Workers Union, c/o Otis Nation, 1120 W. Olive St., Lakeland, Fla.**

Wall Street Journal

**"How long do you think this firm would stay in business if we paid everybody what they are worth?"**

### Shame of Topeka

WASHINGTON, KANS.

The comparison of Mississippi and Kansas in the article, "The Political Power of the South," by Dr. DuBois (GUARDIAN, Mar. 5) illustrates clearly that the representation the South has in Congress is neither just nor legal.

However, in making the statement that "Kansas is one of the most intelligent and law abiding" of the states, especially in a discussion that involves racial segregation, Dr. DuBois should not lose sight of the fact that Topeka, Kans., was one of the cities named in the petition that brought the anti-segregation ruling from the U.S. Supreme Court.

Citizens of Kansas who believe in the sincerity of John Brown and others of its early martyrs are ashamed by the fact that 90 years after the Emancipation Proclamation and the passage of the 14th Amendment the capital city of Kansas was practicing racial segregation in her schools—the same as Mississippi.

**Ernest B. Benne**

### Spirited response

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

The Paul Brown Defense Committee wishes to express its deep appreciation to the GUARDIAN staff and its wonderful readers for their spirited response to our appeal for funds and letters of protest. To date (Mar. 15) we have received 61 contributions from 13 states to the tune of $342.

We have tried to answer all of the mail but we need an assist from the "Mailbag" column to say "Thanks a million" to those wonderful people called "anonymous."

The committee wishes to reemphasize the need for an ever-increasing torrent of letters and wires to District Attorney Wm. J. McCauley, Safety Bldg., Milwaukee, Wis., asking that he dismiss the charges against Paul Brown.

**Mrs. Mary Phillips, Co-Chairman**
**914 N. Plankinton Av.**
**Milwaukee 3, Wis.**


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***REPORT TO READERS***

# All tapsalteerie O!

SUPPOSE YOU WERE A BIT OF A REBEL all your life and born at Eastertime, 1916, and were at the point of celebrating that turning point in years where, as Dr. Walter Pitkin once said, "Life begins." Wouldn't you think it the boost of boosts to have a greeting from the immortal celebrant of Ireland's Easter Rebellion of 1916?

Indeed you would, if you think in terms of love of liberty; and so did the New York Teachers Union, with a 40th birthday celebration coming up at Eastertime, 1956.

But how to explain to a man named Sean, across a wide ocean and sequestered in an eagle's nest in England? For Sister Rose Russell, the TU leader, there was a ready answer: she wrote to her old friend Cedric Belfrage, late of our States but now perforce repatriated not too far from O'Casey's hideaway.

THERE ENSUED a delightful correspondence between Sean O'Casey and Rose Russell, him diffidently disclaiming any right at all to talk to America's teachers; Rose Russell patiently, lovingly pleading for just a word or two. Finally she noted to him that he had indeed said his say in their letters, and why not let her quote from them?

From a sickbed Sean wrote his consent: "Quote as you will . . ." and here is the message heard by 1,500 N. Y. Teachers' Union members and their friends March 24 at a Hotel Biltmore luncheon (with 1,000 turned away for lack of room):

"GOD KNOWS AMERICA has her own prophets; let the Americans hear them. They are—to mention but three—Jefferson, Lincoln and Whitman; two of them American Presidents, the other America's great poet. Beside them, O'Casey's voice would be but the chirrup of a sparrow to the Eagle's whistle, and she in full flight, fearless facing the sun.

"My sympathy and good wishes go with Rose Russell and the members of her Union; and I could wish that the Teachers Union of Ireland had half the fighting spirit of their American brothers and sisters; for they are facing finely the informers who would be ready to swear that a prayer to God threatens His throne. . . .

"In a way, it's amusing to think of the manner innocent people are harried while the greatest subversionist has to go free forever; for the greatest subversionist is life herself, changing everything as she goes through Time, cuckolding the McCarthies and McCarthy's stooges; at times, even turning things all tapsalteerie O!

"Life in Time will pull the McCarthies and the stooges into forgotten graves; as she has carried the Great into the grave too; but these are about us still; Jefferson and Lincoln speak still within the minds and hearts of America's people, and Whitman sings his songs still in Manhattan, and not only there, but everywhere all the world over. . . .

"All good wishes to you all, and to your efforts to stand against tyrannic stupidity seeking to quell the probing of the human mind.

"I'm with you all.
"My love to you all."

**Sean O'Casey**
**Torquay, Devon, England**

TWO CLOSING OBSERVATIONS: First, we hope to have more of a report on the exciting and meaningful Teachers Union gathering in a later issue of the GUARDIAN; watch for it, you'll find it exalting and useful in today's arguments in your own surroundings.

Second, we are proud and glad that our Editor-in-Exile could bring into conjunction two such souls as Sean and Rose. But we must be mindful—and always remindful—that he is where he is, handy though it may seem (see p. 4), because McCarthy put him there in an effort to down this paper.

So McCarthy downed neither, as time is proving. But you could down us, if your renewal is due and not at hand; if that contribution you've been meaning to make stays sidetracked.

It is up, not down, that we mean to go—with your abiding help.

**—THE GUARDIAN**

### Acknowledgement

HELENA, ALA.

Thank you for your announcement about our need for used clothes. I want to thank the many GUARDIAN readers for their generous response. We received many boxes of very usable clothing; articles for men, women, boys, girls, babies. With them we were able to help many needy people. Several large families and one for example where there were three sets of children: "some his, some hers and some theirs" — 13 in all, one a brand new baby. The father is a day laborer in a lime plant. Thanks to everybody.

**Claude Williams**
**Rt. 1, Box 268**

# The Montgomery trial

*(Continued from Page 1)*

"These people are making fools of themselves. That state attorney didn't have one defensible legal argument. All they have is their feeling that white makes right. Well it don't make right to me, today, yesterday or tomorrow, either. They showed us one thing with all this mess; they showed us what we can do if we all stick together as Negroes—no matter what church we go to, or what kind of work we do. And they are showing the rest of the country and the world just how things really are down here for Negroes. It makes me feel better than I ever felt in my life."

The trial made all of Montgomery's 50,000 Negroes feel better than they had felt in all their lives. From Monday, March 19, when the trial started, to its conclusion, Thursday, March 22, Negroes filled most seats in the small courtroom. There were approximately a dozen seats in each of two sections of seven rows that had been "reserved" for them. Then there was a small section, seating approximately 15 persons, which had been "reserved" for the Negro press. Seats in this section had to be disputed by the reporters after each court recess. On the last day of the trial, persons who were determined to witness the proceedings suddenly flourished pens, paper and concentrated expressions which they thought appropriately journalistic. Near this correspondent on that day sat a small, dogged, bespectacled man who looked gravely down at a piece of stationery on his knee and wrote in a flourishing hand: "'The Bus Protest Trial' by Rev. H. H. Johnson."

**MONTGOMERY SPIRIT:** The spirit of the Negro community in Montgomery is revealed most sharply when the attendance at the courtroom is examined day by day. Although speakers at a mass meeting on the Sunday night preceding the trial repeatedly urged no mass attendance at the trial nor gatherings in the general area of the courtroom, on Monday morning it was necessary to push through crowds of solemn-faced Negro citizens to get into the courthouse. Once inside, it took real maneuvering to climb the stairs; the entrance to the courtroom itself was jammed with persons who formed an almost impenetrable human barrier.

There were 90 defendants and some 60 Negro witnesses for both sides, in addition to hundreds of deeply interested spectators from the Montgomery community. It was possible to get through the crowd only by following closely on the heels of a tiny, bent, gray-haired woman who kept demanding that a way be made for her since she was a witness, and being propelled from the rear by a bulky, equally vocal man who proclaimed that he was one of the indicted. Through the small space that opened up and to general cries of "Let the witness pass" and "Make way for the indicted," witness, indicted and correspondent were catapulted into the courtroom.

**LET IT COME DOWN:** Before the trial began formally there was a spirit of such warm friendliness and fraternity in the room that it had almost a festive air. It was this atmosphere which so irritated Judge Carter that he said:

"If y'all came in here to be entertained, I'm goin' tell you now, this isn't no vaudeville show. If I have to speak about it again I'm gon' send all y'all to jail. There's plenty room in the jail right across the street.

Respect followed the pronouncement but comments continued to be made in tones by people practiced and skilled in delivering themselves of pungent opinion in the formidable face of lifelong oppression. One man gleefully told how he had left his business in Atlanta to fly in for the trial:

"You know, I was going to get in here. When I couldn't get in the front way, I just went on around to the back and came in through the Judge's chambers. After all, you know, they've been making us use the back way so long, if any of them had stopped me, I was going to tell them I didn't know there was any other way to get in!"

A woman leaned over and wanted to know if we had heard the commotion out on the stairs. Someone, she said, had shouted:

"With all of us out here on this staircase, these old things are liable to give way. The whole thing just might come crashing down, then. Just let all this old rotten mess they've built up here crash down!"

Grave-faced Mr. E. D. Nixon, Pullman porter and one of the indicted defendant's, whose home had been bombed, turned to the row of people behind him and said, with no discernible levity:

"Will you look at the way they got that door locked? They got that old block of wood nailed up there like it was a barn door. Isn't that something? That thing wouldn't even hold back a pair of mules that really wanted to break out!"

**JURY BOX:** After the trial began the Judge ordered the courthouse cleared. He also invited those who didn't have to remain to return to their other affairs: "Y'all might as well go on. We're glad to have you, of course, if you want to stay, but you don't have to stay." Not a soul budged.

There were windows across the way in another courtroom which were dark with waiting, watchful faces of the Negroes in Montgomery. This, too, began to affect the Judge, and he ordered all those rooms and corridors cleared.

On the trial's third day, Wednesday, a few Negro people had seated themselves in the jury box. After all, there were 12 seats there! Many people in other sections of the courtroom were hugely entertained by this development. One man said:

"Well, that's what this thing all started from—we want the right to sit down on a first-come, first-served basis!" Another remarked: "They won't let us sit in the jury but we sure are sitting there now!"

Judge Carter said: "Some of y'all took the seats over there in the jury box. Since you're already there, I'm not gon' ask y'all to move. But tomorrow, we're not gon' be able to keep up that arrangement." Everyone seated in that section nodded understandingly and appreciatively. All the next day, Thursday, last day of the trial, 12 Negroes sat in the jury box.

On that final day the sheriff burst out of the courtroom and into the hallway, carrying a length of rope, wound in the way new clothesline is sold at most hardware stores. He was followed by two six-foot deputies whose pistols bulged out of fancy-tooled hip holsters. They were worried. Said the sheriff:

"The Judge said to keep 'em off the stairs but I 'clare I don't see how we goin' do it. Here (to one of the deputies) take this rope and see can you fix up some kind of barrier down at the bottom of them stairs and another one maybe up here." Deputy to sheriff: "All right, she'iff, I'll do what I kin, but it don't look to me like that rope would exactly hold 'em back."

That rope was later observed in its original unwound condition, tossed to one side at the bottom of the stairs, where it was kicked or stepped on from time to time by the feet of Negroes.

**THE PIONEERS:** These small, but typical incidents reveal the discipline, organization, militancy and courage of these 50,000 Negro pioneers in the cause of American civil liberty in such short time. The week of Montgomery's Boycott Trial was, indeed, the testing ground for a dynamic rearrangement of forces in American life.

The overwhelming fact emerging from that Montgomery courtroom, and from the lives of Negroes throughout the South, is that Negroes have taken the offensive for the first time since the end of Reconstruction against the system of white supremacist oppression.

They stood united on the issue of their right to protest unfair treatment on the Montgomery City Bus Lines. When those simple, modest demands were met with violence and intimidation, they crowded together in the courtroom and saw the whole flimsy fabric of Southern legal justice torn to shreds by the skill of five of their own Alabama Negro lawyers and the ineptitude of the State's attorney. What might have been a simple protest movement grew, in that courtroom, into an intensive course on the measure and scope of their exploitation. They repeated to each other everywhere that it wasn't Rev. King who was on trial; it was themselves, all of them. The question was not whether Rev. King and the other indicted leaders had committed a crime; it was whether they, as wronged citizens of a democracy, have the right to organize themselves to peacefully protest their wrongs and ask for justice.

**50,000—THAT'S WHO:** One of the defense witnesses, a young woman, articulated the mood when she answered Judge Carter's question on who decided the Negroes would stop riding the buses. She said: "Fifty thousand Negroes decided, **that's** who!" Her remark set off a spontaneous and completely unprecedented burst of applause and approval.

Standing **together,** face to face with their ancient oppressor, the Negro people of Montgomery demonstrated an immense and immovable dignity before the entire world. They were so anxious to stand at last and tell the story of wrongs done to them, **just** on the bus lines, that most of them (who were also mostly women domestic workers) had to be restrained by their attorneys. They told of vocal abuse, physical indignities and physical violence, threats and humiliation suffered daily through the years.

**SO PROUD:** One woman stood up, faced the Judge and told him: "I'll **tell** you how I feel if you just let me talk. I'm filled up with this thing and I don't care who knows about it!" Another said: "They sure can't tell the difference between Negro money and white money when they go to count it!" Still another said: "I declare, they do not treat us right and we tired of it." A beautiful young woman who testified to being called a "black cow" by a bus driver was found crying in a doorway during the Wednesday noon recess. When a woman visitor went up and embraced her and asked her what was wrong, she said: "Oh, I ain't crying 'cause I be scared or shamed. It's 'cause I wanted to tell so long what they was doing to us." She wiped tears from her rounded dark cheeks as she said softly but firmly:

"It's cause I be so **proud** to say it, and if they only let me, I would still be tellin' them right now."

**"God is using Montgomery as his proving ground . . ."**

**Thus spoke the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. (shown above with his wife, l.) after his conviction in the bus protest. Then he added: ". . . and maybe here in the cradle of the Confederacy the idea of freedom in the Southland will be born."**

**This cloth emblem was made by the son of one of the indicted ministers and worn by many witnesses.**

## Sardine special

CHAIRMAN Charles L. Patterson of the Transit Authority said yesterday that fewer people are riding the subways because "excellent economic conditions" enable more people to use more private cars and taxis.

• • •

Now if we could just have a little depression and raise the fares once more, the subways could be really back in business.

—N. Y. Post, March 12, 1956

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*BRITAIN IN THE SOVIET "RE-EVALUATION" LIMELIGHT*

# Malenkov was there—it's 'K & B' next

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

WITH MALENKOV hogging the picture pages as a friendly "character" everyone wants to meet, and Gromyko here for the disarmament talks, and "K and B" (Krushchev and Bulganin) due in next month, Britain holds a limelight position in the current excitement over Moscow's "re-evaluation" and its implications. Everyone is conscious of the change in international climate, and that in the new perspectives for East-West friendship impressive foundation-stones could be laid here before May is out.

Efforts to keep the flame of hatred burning, in face of the Soviet's outburst of self-criticism and stepped-up peace offensive, have of course been made but have fizzled badly. The general editorial line—that the new Soviet leaders who criticize Stalin and his era are "just as bad"—has made little impression. Letters to the **Times** from Eastern emigres and British blimps, protesting about "K & B's" visit, have fallen flat. Malcolm Muggeridge, editor of the creaking humorous weekly **Punch**, is going ahead with plans for a protest meeting when "K & B" arrive, but the British reaction was summed up by one wag who said it was high time **Punch** did something funny.

Vicky, London Daily Mirror

**"He's just practicing for the B & K visit"**

London News Chronicle

**"Would that be this Mr. Muggeridge?"**

**THE REALITIES:** Tory papers like the **Daily Mail** at first pictured Malenkov as a sinister dictator type afraid someone would take a shot at him. They finally had to admit that the security guards who have "harried and hamstrung" him here were British, and ask why "the British have become more security-conscious than the Russians themselves." Malenkov's insistence on galloping ahead of his protectors, kissing factory girls and chatting with the workers, has made a lively impression.

The protests against "K & B's" visit have been based on the press distortions of what they said in India, and on the thesis that the U.S.S.R. is now the "world's leading colonial power." The remoteness of all this from the realities Britain must face was highlighted by the "K & B" in India film, showing millions of Indians according the Soviet leaders a welcome unsurpassed anywhere at any time. Malenkov seems to have set the stage for them to be received with great friendliness here. As for the reports of riots in the U.S.S.R. following the release of Khrushchev's criticism of Stalin, the press admitted they came mostly from American sources and were unconfirmed; and the **Mail's** correspondent cabled that there were "no signs of any disturbances" in Moscow, where people "look better dressed and fed, there are more cars, and the housing shortage is being tackled more energetically."

**SOMETHING MUST BE DONE:** The Eden government, which is in a mess and badly needs to pull something out of the hat to justify itself, is taking pains to show serious interest in the "K & B" visit. In Moscow, Ambassador Hayter—the first Western envoy ever invited to broadcast to the Soviet nation—stressed British hopes of a resulting "new and better era in our relations." Eden announced that discussion of issues dividing the world is "the prime object of the visit." "K & B" will get the full VIP treatment: tea with the Queen, lunch with London's Lord Mayor, a reception by the combined Houses of Parliament, visits to Oxford and Edinburgh and atomic and Royal Air Force stations, and a special Covent Garden opera performance.

Eden's recent foreign-born statements give little hope, as far as he is concerned, for fruitful results from the talks. But things are moving in Britain and two big factors must be taken into account. One is the unrest among influential Tories, some of whom are saying "something's just got to be done" to reach agreement with the Russians, especially on wider trade, and to ease the fantastic arms burden which is breaking Britain's back. The cry for more East-West trade has burst forth anew in Parliament, where MPs pointed to the 60,000 workers recently put on short time and envisaged "serious unemployment" ahead.

**NEW EPOCH?** The other factor is the new tide running within the Labour Party. When, last month, Labourites voted against the Tories' Middle East policy, it was the first real division on foreign policy since the cold war. The issues were the arms burden and the necessity to reach some common ground with Moscow. Right-wingers in the party are reluctant to press these issues, if only because they love their respectable status and fear new Tory attacks on them as "tools of Moscow." But the right-wingers have passed to the defensive against the demand for a showdown on what more and more Labourites see as a question of life or death for Britain. One of the top Labour right-wingers is now going around saying privately that "the party has broken with bipartisan foreign policy—a new epoch has begun."

If it has, it's a major break in the international log-jam—and the signs are encouraging. The "new look" in Moscow is adding day by day to the pressure from Labour's left and center to explore possibilities for better Socialist-Communist relations. Labour's executive spent a long evening with Malenkov in what MP Richard Crossman called a "tough conversation" with free give-and-take of questions. Malenkov, he said, was "tough, extremely skilfull, charming, and very direct" and "gave us the impression that he cared what we thought." There is little doubt that the party leaders will have a similar serious sit-down with "K & B."

**TORIES UNHAPPY:** The possibility cannot be overlooked that this may lead to a formal meeting, to talk over the whole matter of Socialist-Communist relations, between Soviet and British Labour leaders. Such a meeting might include Socialist and Communist parties of other countries, and might conceivably be sponsored by the Yugoslavs who now occupy a strategic position. It is noted here that the Yugoslav position on Moscow's "new look" has been particularly friendly and constructive. Belgrade's **Borba** reported unequivocally from Moscow that the "re-evalutation" is "not an affair of personalities and will not, as some think, lead to internal weaknesses;" **Politika** commented that the new developments make the chances of peaceful co-existence "all the better."

There is a big legacy of hatred and suspicion to be surmounted before the Labour Party is ready to meet the U.S.S.R.'s collective leadership half-way in a world "new look" on the Left; but the trend is strongly felt here, and the dilemma-ridden Tories are not happy about it.

**CLOSING THE GAP:** It is too early yet to say whether the British Communists will emerge strengthened from the position in which the "re-evaluation" of Stalin's era has placed them. Like all Western Communist parties they have a lot of serious thinking to do, not merely to get a balanced perspective on Stalin but to correct their own methods and relations with the Soviet party. In one of many frank letters published by the **Daily Worker**, a London reader writes:

> "Recently I heard Comrade Gallagher refer to 'the great gap which separates our party from the people.' This gap will widen unless (1) we can reassure the British people that we have minds of our own; (2) we recognize the painful truth that the many theoretical weaknesses of the rank and file, which prevent critical appreciation of policy as it emanates from the leadership, apply equally to the leadership."

Many people close to the CP here feel there is every reason for the gap to shrink rather than widen—provided the party leadership will face its own errors as frankly as the Soviet party is doing.

*STATE OF THE NATION*

## Cameron to report at Apr. 7 parley

ANGUS CAMERON, head of Cameron Associates Inc. and former chief editor of the Little, Brown publishing house, will report on the State of the Nation at the April 7 conference in New York of the newly formed Committee for Legislation in the National Interest. The conference will be held at Manhattan Center, with panels in the morning and a plenary session after lunch. Registration fee is $1.

In the panels, Dr. Otto Nathan, confidant of the late Albert Einstein, will lead discussion on "Survival or Extinction"; Isidor Rubin, editor of **Teacher News**, on "The People's Treasure—Public Service vs. Public Plunder"; and attorney Victor Rabinowitz on "The Sovereign Citizen," in the Bill of Rights panel. There is a fourth panel on "Integration or Segregation."

The sponsoring committee is headed by Cameron and includes more than 50 educators, writers, clergymen, and others prominent in their fields. The aim of the Conference is to focus attention on the failure of Congress to act in the interest of the people. The Conference Call summed it up this way:

> "We think it is about time some good old American eloquence and tough-talking indignation were brought to bear on the theory that 'What's good for General Motors is good for the country.'"

*8-YEAR TERMS*

## Green and Winston get added 3 years

COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERS Gilbert Green, 49, and Henry Winston, 45, were sentenced March 26 to three years each for failing to appear in court July 2, 1951, to begin five-year sentences as Smith Act violators. U. S. Dist. Court Judge Archie Dawson ruled that the "contempt" sentences would start when the five-year terms ended. Green was tried as a fugitive and convicted of contempt on March 11. Winston was tried the same day he was sentenced.

Green denied his action had been in contempt of court. He failed to appear at the time specified, he said, because he had wanted to "alert the people to the dangers facing our country." He said he hoped the book he had written while away would serve that purpose. Winston used the occasion to deny an earlier charge that he deserted his family when he went into hiding. His wife and two children, he told the court, had been cared for "by those people who always support democracy against fascism."

In Cleveland on March 23 six Ohio Communist leaders were sentenced to prison for "conspiracy to teach and advocate" violent overthrow of the U. S. government. The five men were given the 5-year maximum; the one woman, three and a half years. All were released on bond pending appeal.

*SUPREME COURT TIE*

## 4-4 vote upholds Hyun deportation

DAVID HYUN LEFT his native Seoul, Korea, at the age of two. He came to Hawaii at the age of seven and has grown up under the U. S. flag. At 39 he is now a practicing architect in Los Angeles, with a wife and two sons, Americans by birth. Since 1949 the U. S. government has been trying to deport Hyun. He, his friends and neighbors fought the case to the Supreme Court. Last week, in a 4-4 vote, the Court refused to rescind the deportation order.

For four years David Hyun was threatened with a return to South Korea where the long-standing opposition of his family to President Syngman Rhee would have meant torture and death. In January, 1955, a court order granted Hyun the right to seek a visa from a country of his own choice. But last week friends still feared that a swift reversal might yet send him into Rhee's hands.

In any case David Hyun is faced with exile and his family of Americans must decide between him and their homeland.

•

**For editor's return**

CHICAGO, ILL.

Enclosed my belated renewal of $3 plus $5 to be used as you see fit to honor the fighting Editor-in-Exile to make him and society return to the America of Jefferson, Paine, Pat Henry and Lincoln.

E. Jasinski

NEW SMITH ACT REVIEW SLATED

# Immunity Act is upheld; Douglas in strong dissent

ATTY. GEN. Herbert Brownell's attack on the Constitutional protection afforded by the Fifth Amendment got Supreme Court OK March 26. The Court, 7 to 2, upheld the constitutionality of Brownell's Immunity Act of 1954 under which witnesses in "national security" cases can be jailed for invoking the Fifth Amendment rule that no man can be made to testify against himself.

The case involves William Ludwig Ullmann, a war-time Treasury Dept. official and one of scores of persons named by government informer Elizabeth Bentley as members of "spy rings." Ullmann was sentenced to six months when he still invoked the Fifth Amendment before a Federal grand jury after he had been granted "immunity" from prosecution for anything he might reveal. Ullmann must now serve his term.

**FITZGERALD CASE:** The immunity law has been used only one other time against Edward J. Fitzgerald, also a Bentley victim. He, too, is under a six-month sentence. In New York he declared that not all the arguments against the law had been heard and that he is considering appealing his own case to the Supreme Court.

The majority decision was written by Justice Felix Frankfurter and upheld the power of Congress to "increase the possibility of more complete and open disclosure" in "national security" cases. This view was sharply attacked in a strong dissent written by Justice William O. Douglas and concurred in by Justice Hugo L. Black which declared that "the right of silence created by the Fifth Amendment is beyond the reach of Congress." Douglas wrote:

"My view is that the framers [of the Constitution] put it beyond the power of Congress to compel any one to confess his crimes. The evil to be guarded against was partly self-accusation under legal compulsion. But that was only a part of the evil. The conscience and dignity of man were also involved. So too was his right to freedom of expression guaranteed by the First Amendment. The framers, therefore, created the Federal protected right of silence and decreed that the law could not be used to pry open one's lips and make him a witness against himself. . . .

"The critical point is that the Constitution places the right of silence beyond the reach of government. The Fifth Amendment stands between the citizen and his government.

"When public opinion casts a person into the outer darkness, as happens today when a person is exposed as a Communist, the government brings infamy on the head of the witness when it compels disclosure. That is precisely what the Fifth Amendment prohibits. . . ."

**MORE VICTIMS PREPARED:** Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), chairman of the Internal Security subcommittee, was happy at the Court ruling and said his committee "has in mind particular witnesses for whom it may ask immunity. . . ." The Justice Dept. had no comment but it was known that it was readying new cases for action under the new ruling.

Justice Douglas in his dissent also attacked the Immunity Law on the ground that it does not protect against "disabilities created by Federal law that attach to a person who is a Communist" and added:

"Any forfeiture of rights as a result of compelled testimony is at war with the Fifth Amendment."

**MEMBERSHIP REVIEW:** In another action the Supreme Court agreed to review the first two convictions under the membership clause of the Smith Act. They involve Claude Lightfoot, Communist Negro leader in Chicago, and Junius Scales, chairman of the CP of North Carolina. The membership section of the Smith Act makes it a crime to belong to a Communist organization knowing its aims to be "the violent overthrow" of the government.

Lightfoot is under a five-year sentence and a $5,000 fine, while Scales has been sentenced to six years in prison. Both are free in bail of $30,000 and $35,000.

# U.S. seizes Daily Worker and CP offices

**AT PRESSTIME we received word by telephone that the Internal Revenue Dept. had entered the plant of the Daily and Sunday Worker in New York, ordered the staff to vacate the premises and proposed to attach everything in the plant for alleged non-payment of taxes.**

**Reports also came in that the national offices of the Communist Party in New York and state offices in New York, Chicago and Philadelphia had been taken over by Federal authorities.**

**The Internal Revenue Dept. has been examining the Worker records during recent months, seeking unsuccessfully to obtain names of contributors, lenders and even merchants selling the paper. It warned that failure to disclose this information would lead to assessment of taxes for this total income, even though the Worker enterprises operate at a severe loss. The Worker papers have been published since 1951 by the Publishers New Press, Inc.**

**A specific demand for $46,000 taxes for the last quarter of 1951 and the whole of 1952 had been taken to tax court by the Worker publishers on the ground that there was no basis in law for the demand. The raids yesterday were evidently aimed to short-circuit a tax court proceeding which might take two years to resolve. Communist Party officials credited the attacks to a stepped up campaign against the CP as a "reprisal" for the acquittal of four Smith Act defendants in Ohio last month.**

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# Peace offensive

*(Continued from Page 1)*

withdrawal last year of Anglo-French proposals accepted by the U.S.S.R., has by no means been dissipated.

There are few illusions about the U.S.'s determination not to take any steps that would inhibit German rearmament or its own right to maintain and test atomic and hydrogen weapons. And if the Bulganin-Eisenhower correspondence (in which each has politely expressed his desire to reach agreement on disarmament without any coming together of points of view) has been welcomed as keeping channels open, it has also been somewhat reminiscent, as the **Journal de Geneve** pointed out, "of the 32 variations which Beethoven wrote on a theme by Diabelli."

**FRENCH INITIATIVE:** The current talks are indeed taking place in a new international context. Their outcome may depend, in large measure, on the initiative of France, and upon how that initiative is sustained. Earlier French initiatives—in 1952 and again in 1954 jointly with Britain—were defeated by French submission to U.S. dictates. Now, for the first time, Jules Moch, France's long-time representative in disarmament talks, has behind him a socialist government, which will back him up, and for which disarmament has become a principal objective of foreign policy.

For the Mollet government is under not only an economic compulsion to seek disarmament but also a political one: the need, if it is to survive, to distinguish itself from its predecessor. This need is especially acute in view of the discontent among its own followers over its failure to fulfill its electoral pledges to bring peace in Algeria.

**ADENAUER'S MOVES:** Statements by Mollet's Foreign Minister Pineau, linking the solution of the German problem to disarmament, have revived hopes both in and out of W. Germany that W. German rearmament can still—even at this late date—be avoided. Adenauer's growing anxiety over this turn of events could be measured in:

- His demand to be kept informed of the progress of the London disarmament talks. This was "not one of his most skillful moves," declared the London **Observer** (3/18). The paper pointed out that the subcommittee is a UN organ, that it has no power of decision, and that its deliberations are strictly private. (The British government brusquely rejected this demand.)
- His order to his defense minister to re-examine the case for compulsory conscription, of which he has hitherto been an ardent advocate. This move was taken in response to pressure for a smaller professional army. It is regarded also as an attempt to avoid the logical consequences of disarmament and to counter the strategy of the Social Democrats who are expected to make opposition to conscription one of their major campaign issues in 1957.
- His recent radio interview calling for "general limitation and control of arms" to create a favorable atmosphere for German reunification.

Drawing by Francois, Paris

**ADENAUER IN WONDERLAND**
**"Alice saw that there was not a moment to lose for she was shrinking rapidly. . . . Her chin was so pressed against her foot that she could scarcely open her mouth."**

**INDEPENDENCE PAYS OFF:** The Pineau-Mollet dissent from Anglo-American policy on Germany (one of the chief reasons why this government won Communist support) may serve to open the way for new negotiations with Moscow. This is the more likely in view of the quick demonstration France has received that a little independence in foreign policy does pay off. U.S. Ambassador Dillon on March 21 expressed "total" U.S. support for France's position in N. Africa. This was the U.S. answer to Pineau's blunt criticisms, only three weeks before, of Washington's double-game in N. Africa and of the lack of an agreed western political policy.

The Dillon statement will tend to strengthen France's position within the Atlantic Alliance. This was precisely Pineau's goal. It means that American policy is being forced to evolve toward accepting the equality of its major allies and using less dictatorial methods towards them. The other side of this coin is the strengthening, to some degree, of the Atlantic Alliance and the possible formation of a common Western front in the Middle East, where France has hitherto been opposing Anglo-American policy looking toward military intervention.

**MENDES-FRANCE WAITS:** But the U.S. statement was not expected to contribute much to an Algerian solution in accord with the French national interest. This view was enforced by President Eisenhower's press conference remarks (3/21) about N. Africa which were interpreted here as extending a helping hand to French nationalists.

On the one hand the French do not forget Indo-China. Noting that France's national interest and Western interests do not always coincide, **Le Monde** (3/21) pointed out:

"It took seven years of war for our 'enemies' to drive us out of N. Viet Nam (where we could still regain some influence); it has required only one year and a half of solidarity with our allies for them to drive us out of S. Viet Nam."

On the other hand, for the Left, and for the great majority of the French people, the national interest lies, above all, in peace in Algeria. But outside the Left, at least, there is confusion as to what that may imply.

The margin of time in which the government can act for such a solution has become very narrow. Yet almost all the government's acts to date have been directed toward military reinforcement and repression. **L'Express**, identified with the Mendes-France group, has bitterly attacked its indecision and equivocation. The government (of which Mendes-France's Radicals are a part) has given Algerian Resident General Lacoste neither the mandate to negotiate nor the power to make a war, it declared. And it pointed out that "reform is no longer a response to the Algerian crisis since it supposes the crisis resolved either by negotiation or military action."

Drawing by Effel, Paris

**". . . And I'll give you a month rent-free!"**

Mendes-France is apparently biding his time in the hope of becoming again—as he did in the Indo-China crisis in 1954—the "indispensable man." But some feel he may have "missed the boat."

**A QUESTION OF TIME:** Meanwhile, criticism of the government within Socialist ranks has grown swiftly. Socialist Party district leaders from all France, meeting last weekend, included a sizeable minority who strongly opposed the government's present course in Algeria. Not only rank-and-file Socialists, but Socialist parliamentary deputies and municipal officials have joined with the Communists in demonstrations for peace in Algeria. The CP policy has aimed at (1) not throwing the Mollet government into the lap of the right; and (2) not doing anything to separate itself from the Socialists.

It believes that time is on its side. This belief is borne out by the unity of action between Socialists and Communists which becomes more real every day; and by the very clear opposition of the French people to war in N. Africa. Given time, the Left believes that the people can impose peace in N. Africa as they did once before in Indo-China.

But at the moment none could say that time would be given.

A MATTER OF EQUALITY

# Women—then and now

By Shirley Graham

*(Author of "There Once Was A Slave" and other books for young people.)*

BACK IN 1833, when Miss Prudence Crandall enrolled a Negro student in her Boarding and Day School for Young Ladies, the men of Canterbury, Conn., combined in a chorus of outrage:

"Storekeepers refused to sell supplies to Miss Crandall, the village doctor would not attend ailing students, the druggist refused to give medicine and rowdies smashed school windows, threw manure into the well and started several fires in the buildings."

When these "hints" failed to subdue the "rash females," authorities dragged Miss Crandall and several of her young ladies off to prison.

In December of the same year, 60 Negro and white delegates from 10 states gathered in Philadelphia to form the American Anti-Slavery Society. There were no women delegates (though from the beginning women were in the center of the bitter struggle to end chattel slavery) but several women did attend and were allowed to sit in the balcony. It took one of them, Lucretia Coffin Mott, wife of Delegate James Mott, to get the meeting started. This 40-year-old Quaker woman, "singularly beautiful," sat calmly knitting until the delegates, rebuffed in their efforts to get a leading citizen of Philadelphia to make opening remarks, began arguing the advisability of postponing the convention.

**AND JAMES DID:** Then Mrs. Mott stopped her knitting, rose and addressed the delegates:

"Right principles are stronger than names. Why be cowards? Why wait for those who never had the courage to maintain the inalienable rights of the slaves?"

The meeting got under way. But shortly before its close Mrs. Mott once more laid aside her knitting. Somebody had cautioned Delegate Mott that he might hurt his business if he signed the Declaration of Sentiments and Purposes. Mrs. Mott leaned over the balcony rail and was clearly heard to say: "'James, put down thy name!" James did.

These two early portraits are taken from Samuel Sillen's **Women Against Slavery,*** a small, but pithy volume containing 16 sketches of women Abolitionists, Negro and white. In a surprisingly few words, Dr. Sillen, editor of the magazine **Masses & Mainstream,** skillfully tells the inspiring stories of these women in their fight for freedom. All, white as well as Negro, had to break through bigotry, ignorance and the determination which confined their "natural sphere" to domestic concerns. Sarah and Angelina Grimke were "renegades" from a wealthy, conservative Charleston, S.C., family. Lucy Stone, brilliant, young Oberlin College graduate was branded a "harlot" and a "she-hyena." Jane Swisshelm, Abolitionist editor, was driven from her town, her paper declared "fit only for inmates of brothels." Harriet Beecher Stowe, Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton are presented with lesser known Ernestine L. Rose, a Jewish woman of Polish birth, and Frances E. W. Harper, a Negro woman, whose verses, swift and direct in impact, did much to arouse the country. And Dr. Sillen shows how all of them drew strength and inspiration from the towering figures of Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman—black women, who bore on their bodies marks of the slave lash.

**A LOOK AROUND: Women Against Slavery** is an unusual book. Men have written the great historical chronicles and they turn out to be records of the deeds of men. But men of letters from Aristophanes to Samuel Sillen have placed the names of women in literature. In his foreword Sillen writes:

"In a time when Americans are jailed for their political ideas and associations, it is heartening to see how devoted patriots of the past faced and overcame restrictions on their right to think and speak and publish."

The book inevitably causes us to look around. For we, too, live in crucial times; we, too, are privileged to make stirring history. Ancient Greek women who stopped a war are equalled in our times by the French women who threw themselves across the railroad tracks of their own town to stop a train of armaments. Few stories of the Middle ages surpass in heroism the Turkish women who, tearing aside their veils, braved torture and ostracism to speak publicly of peace. Recently Algerian demonstrators stormed the National Assembly in Paris shouting "Liberté!" They were led by a girl. And here at home we have Mrs. Ingram, and the legacy left by Ethel Rosenberg, and the memory of how the mother of Emmett Till faced the courtroom of savages in Mississippi.

SHIRLEY GRAHAM
*A forthright view*

**OUR NATIONAL FEAR:** On the other hand, there is abundant evidence that this generation of women in the U.S. comprises the most comfortable women in the world. Clearly, no other land can match their wealth of creature comforts. Destruction and pestilence which have scourged four-fifths of humanity have not touched their homes. Thus, while women of other lands, haunted by the fear of war, will spare no sacrifice to guarantee peace, the nearest thing to a national fear among women of the U.S. is the fear of losing their youth. Before well-stocked refrigerators and deep-freezers their one supreme sacrifice is made in the cause of reducing!

Yet, I think it was no accident that the first two Negro applicants to the University of Alabama were women, nor that a woman on the jimcrow bus in Montgomery suddenly decided she had "enough." When women do reach that conclusion no amount of philosophical musing, logic, painstaking presentation of "the other side," no warnings that "this is not the time," can change their appointed course. Down through the ages men have railed and quailed before this female "lack of reason."

**A MATTER OF CHOOSING:** Which brings us to the matter of "equality" for which the women of the 19th century struggled so valiantly. In her demand for "equal rights" for women at the ballot box, Susan B. Anthony envisioned the mighty influence which would be exercised by home-makers and mothers in shaping and administering the policies of our country. Today we have "equal suffrage" and a smaller percentage of women as well as of men vote in the U.S. than in any country where votes are cast. And, of the women who do vote, an even smaller percentage give serious thought to constructive use of their ballot. In this, too, they are equal to men!

Frankly, if I were offered the choice between complete and all around equality with some men I know, and cutting my throat, I would reach for the knife. On the list, along with the Senator from Mississippi, might well be Negro bishops of the Methodist Church, Baptist preachers, Negro educators and writers who go about the world lauding "race relations" in the U.S., proclaiming their absolute satisfaction with everything just as it is and declaring that Negroes are doing "as well as any other citizens." Shame to such hypocrites and liars! Women could straighten them out in short order.

*WOMEN AGAINST SLAVERY, By Samuel Sillen, Masses & Mainstream, 832 Broadway, N. Y. C. 3. 102 pp. Paper, 75c; cloth, $1.50.*

"THEY HAVE THE AMERICAN MANNER"

# The day Joe Adonis came home to Montemarano

WHEN JOE ADONIS, crime syndicate chief, was sent home to Montemarano, Italy, that little village, hearing that the prodigal was loaded, hailed him as a form of U.S. aid to close the dollar gap. **Paese Sera**, a Rome daily, described his arrival in the piazza on a brilliantly sunny day early last January. He drove up with his aunt Florinda De Vito, who lives in the nearby Sannio Mountains. After him in another sleek limousine came his bodyguard of forcibly retired businessmen from the U.S., commanded by a retired Army colonel.

The Mayor, Sgr. Tonio Toni, was on hand when Adonis alighted from his massive Fiat. He wore a dark suit with white stripes, a light blue tie splashed with a floral pattern. Clerks hastened to stamp Adonis' "foglio di via" (a police order restricting "undesirables" to their native district) while the Mayor personally escorted him on a tour of the city. The prodigal was glum and stuck fiercely to his story that he had never seen Montemarano before in his life, that he was born in New Jersey.

**GUISEPPE DOTO:** The village officials muffled their hurt pride and did not take him down the twisting Via San Francisco where the hut still stands in which 54 years ago Joe Adonis, then christened Guiseppe Antonio Doto, had his humble start.

JOE ADONIS
*Sweet memories of Jersey*

The Naples papers said Joe Adonis scattered a thousand dollars in largesse to the unemployed of Montemarano on his homecoming. That was the way the village hoped it would go. But **Paese Sera** said the total was $100, all of it to graveyard custodian Sarvio Generoso, a boyhood friend of Joe's father.

To record the homecoming a photographer named Barra came up from Avellino and shot the scene of Joe and the Mayor at City Hall, Joe and the Mayor toasting each other gaily. In the evening Barra hurried home to his shop to develop the roll of film. From his dark room in the back he heard men "who spoke like Americans" tell his daughter:

"We want the photographs of Montemarano. We're American journalists."

"They'll be ready in an hour."

"We don't want them printed. We want the film."

"Why?"

"Too much talk, Senorita."

**ONE MUST WATCH:** Out of the dark room Barra limply extended his hand holding the roll of film. One of the men grabbed it: "Okay . . . grazie."

They left behind them a 5,000-lira note ($8.50) on the counter. In Avellino they tell the story in whispers and add: "One must be careful. . . . They have the American manner."

Montemarano's disappointment was bitter. Joe had promised much and delivered little. The town officials had tactfully asked his plans and were taken aback when he said he thought of a tourist spa in nearby Montevergine. They said the Benedictine Friars, presently inhabiting the mountain site, might not approve. Joe answered: "I know how to deal with competitors."

**CAPITAL TRANSFER:** But he showed no signs of helping the impoverished sharecroppers, migratory workers, wood-choppers and shepherds of Montemarano. To make matters worse, he brought political problems. In Rome two deputies asked Minister of the Interior Tambroni to censure Mayor Toni for so honoring Adonis. Since Toni is a Christian-Democrat and a friend of the Under-Secy. of Industry the whole affair took on a grave political note of crisis. **Paese Sera** sympathized with the Mayor and tartly suggested that the deportation of Adonis be considered a "transfer of foreign capital" to Italy, reversing the usual flow of wealth, and worth a celebration.

After one month it was plain that Joe bore no real solution for his home town. In February when he drove his Fiat up the steep slopes to Montemarano for the required monthly inspection of his papers, snow lay deep on the piazza. The Mayor was unavailable and only the vice mayor offered him so much as a modest lunch.

There was little wood or bread in the town. The unemployed huddled motionless in front of the City Hall. Adonis waved to them but none lifted a hand in answer. To avoid being snowbound with the jobless and hungry, Adonis climbed into his Fiat and headed for his aunt's house.

**THE POOR BANDIT:** He picked up a hitch-hiker who wanted a lift to the station. The hitch-hiker didn't know who his driver was but later recalled that Joe seemed upset. The hitch-hiker talked about bandits in the hills and of Nardiello.

"Who is Nardiello?" Adonis wanted to know.

"For seven years they have looked for him. He hides in forests and caves."

"But the man must be suffering from cold and hunger."

"Also he is sick."

"But if he has to live as badly as that—why did the man become a bandit?" asked Joe Adonis. There was no answer.

He left his hitch-hiker at the station and headed for Aunt Florinda's house where with his body-guard he spends the long winter with a deck of cards before a roaring fire.

The door is bolted against bandits.

THE CRITICS IN A CONTROVERSY

# 'Porgy and Bess': The words and the music

*The controversy over "Porgy and Bess" continues. Last week the mail brought two most interesting letters of criticism of Gilbert Nelson's Spectator column (GUARDIAN, Feb. 27). The writers are the critic Sidney Finkelstein and Peggy Roth, both of Brooklyn—the borough where they really take their opera seriously. In the interest of getting all views out in the open, we have excerpted from both letters below and asked Mr. Nelson for a comment. First, from Mr. Finkelstein:*

I HAVE LONG FELT a little sad over the fact that the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, which battles so militantly and sharply on economic, political and social questions, should be so generally unaware of the existence of similar problems in the arts. It seems to underestimate the cultural interests of its readers. What is worse, however, is when it blunders into this field with a blissful ignorance that it would consider inexcusable in regard to any other matter.

What stimulated this was Gilbert Nelson's well-intentioned article on **Porgy and Bess.** In the course of it he says:

> "Any number of esteemed operatic scores by Puccini, Wagner, Verdi, Bizet, Mozart and Richard Strauss (among others) were written for librettos that would make a self-respecting liberal squirm if he ever measured them with an ideological yardstick. Yet one never measures these operas in that way. Indeed, one hardly ever thinks seriously of their librettos. The value of these classics is purely musical. . . . Their stories, however absurd or pernicious, are merely vehicles."

May I offer a little excursion through opera librettos?

*Mr. Finkelstein then listed more than 30 operas by 15 composers. Among them were the following: Monteverdi—"The Coronation of Poppea" ("A scathing satire on the degeneracy of court life and love"); Mozart—"The Magic Flute" ("A profound statement of the Masonic ideals of human brotherhood, written in the face of Austrian reaction"); Beethoven—"Fidelio" ("Human freedom, with a woman as the most heroic character, victorious in the struggle against tyranny"); Rimsky-Korsakov—"The Golden Cockerel" ("Based on Pushkin; an anti-war satire that the Tsar's censors wouldn't permit on the stage"); Kurt Weill—"Three-Penny Opera" ("A brilliant social satire"). Mr. Finkelstein spoke also of the "socially serious character" of the works of Gluck, Rossini, Verdi, Puccini and Bizet. He then went on:*

LOOKING BACK at these works, many things in them would seem silly today. But what "self-respecting liberal" measures any work of the past by the yardstick of what a liberal would write today in 1956?

Every self-respecting opera composer in history took his librettos very seriously. A composer is great because of his deep interest in real life and people—granted that he can carry this out musically—and this interest shows itself as well in the dramas he selects as in the music. We get in the music pretty well the same attitude towards people that we get in the libretto.

**THIS WAS CHRISTMAS IN MOSCOW**
*Grandfather Frost (the Russian Santa) with children of the "Porgy" cast at a party*

One of the reasons that **Porgy and Bess** has exciting music is that Gershwin tried to bring opera directly to the American scene. He had many blindnesses in regard to the real life of the Negro people, and in regard to his handling of the rich musical material which came from the Negro people. It is far from a perfect work, musically, despite its many fine sections.

Gilbert Nelson's idea that a composer can take any stupid nonsense, set it to pretty musical tones, and produce a great work, is an absurd, pernicious, and reactionary theory, which has done its part to stifle the production of important American musical drama. It is also untrue to history. Good opera was always good theater.

*For her part Miss Roth wrote:*

IF MR. NELSON wanted to make the thesis that libretti don't matter, he could hardly have made worse selections to illustrate his point. Wagner's music dramas were composed by him, poetry and music as indissoluble units. Richard Strauss's **Salomé, Elektra** and **Der Rosenkavalier** could scarcely be said to have been composed to inconsequential stories.

Bizet's **Carmen** is an immensely lively story about real people, including factory workers. Two of Verdi's greatest operas are based on Shakespeare plays—**Falstaff** and **Otello.** Puccini's **Madam Butterfly** remains a moving story about white supremacy and colonialism; **La Boheme** is a supremely touching story about poor people struggling to create art, while young working girls are forced into prostitution.

As for Mozart—well! **Don Giovanni** is about as moral a work as exists, upholding the dignity of women. Above all, **The Marriage of Figaro,** based on the Beaumarchais play, is known to all as the opera which changed opera—where the nobility are shown to be helpless and frivolous, and the hero and heroine are servants.

*We asked Mr. Nelson for a comment on the criticism, and this was his reply:*

IN TAKING ME TO TASK for my contention that the chauvinistic slants in the libretto of **Porgy and Bess** do not and cannot tarnish the radiance of the music Gershwin wrote for it, Sidney Finkelstein impressively reels off blurbs of some 30 classic opera librettos to show they contain noble ideas.

Mr. Finkelstein's scholarship is awesome. But he demolishes his own straw-man by attributing to me the beliefs (1) that all great operas came out of absurd and/or pernicious stories, and (2) "that a composer can take any stupid nonsense, set it to pretty musical tones and produce a great work. . . ."

This is unworthy of the man to whom we are all indebted for his illuminating studies of the relations between art and society and particularly for his profound interpretations of the social origins, functions and values of music.

That there are revered operatic works whose librettos contain ideological aberrations is attested by no less an authority than Mr. Finkelstein himself. In his book, **How Music Expresses Ideas,** the reader can find operas by Beethoven, Wagner, Verdi, Strauss, Debussy, Alban Berg, roundly criticized—and properly so—for the content of their librettos. Mr. Finkelstein could easily have cited 30 in this category to match the 30 in his "approved" group. But the significant point, overlooked here by Mr. Finkelstein, is that the music to the librettos on his "approved" list is not necessarily good, nor those on the "disapproved" one necessarily bad.

We really do not believe that every libretto of a great opera is ideologically formed into musical good sense. We do believe that some stories containing stupidity and nonsense have served as the basis for the composition of glowing music. And the case in point, which Mr. Finkelstein did not get around to confronting squarely, is **Porgy and Bess.**

For all of its celebrated defects and shortcomings, Gershwin's music abounds in recognizable emotional communication, expressed in tonal language that this generation understands intimately. And he speaks it so earnestly and honestly in **Porgy** that the language of the music transcends the librettic language chauvinistically depicting Negro people.

From millions of Gershwin's countrymen and from many more millions abroad, comes the eloquent answer that the composer's attitude is pure and innocent and color-blind; is a human attitude sparking human images in which they, the millions, find identity, regardless of the color of their skins or sociological grasp or credo.

"IMPORTANT TO CIVIL LIBERTIES"

## Norman Thomas helping 2 defendants in new Smith Act trial in New York

*Norman Thomas, veteran Socialist Party leader, and long-time critic of the U. S. Communist Party, issued the following statement:*

ON APRIL 9th, George Charney and Alexander Trachtenberg will go on trial under the Smith Act for a second time, their original conviction having been set aside by Judge Dimock because of the putative weight given by the jury to the testimony of that self-confessed liar, Harvey Matusow.

The men have retained as counsel Newman Levy, a lawyer of the highest standing at the bar who will conduct the case entirely in terms of its civil liberties aspect which are of concern to us all. Other defendants in cases brought under the Smith Act will have other lawyers even though the Court has ordered all the cases to be tried together.

The Charney-Trachtenberg case will focus attention on the permissible and impermissible use of informers, some of them of very dubious reputation, by the government. More than that, the case, as presented by Mr. Levy, will help to clarify confusions between the Smith Act, as interpreted by the majority of the Supreme Court, and the McCarran Internal Subversion Act on which the Court has not yet handed down its opinion. The McCarran Act requires Communists to register and then to accept certain disabilities. It imposes severe penalties for non-registration. Yet the Court has ruled that persons under investigation concerning Communist connections may plead the Fifth Amendment to avoid an answer which might lead to their incrimination under the Smith Act.

SO IMPORTANT is this matter to civil liberty, so good is this case for bringing out certain facts that, with the express aid and approval of Roger Baldwin, Murray Kempton, and Rev. Donald Harrington, I have been quietly trying to help raise the large fund required on conditions assuring that what we raise will go solely to the case as argued by Mr. Levy. Money is transmitted through Miss Helen Alfred, 230 Riverside Drive, New York City.

During this same period, I have publicly renewed my criticisms of communism, opposed the united front between communists and socialists and liberals, and acknowledged that international communism raises serious security problems. "Why then," I have been asked, "your support of the Charney-Trachtenberg case?" The answer is that jailing acknowledged communist leaders as such hurts rather than helps the democracy I want to defend. The proper alternatives are not a united front or the outlawry of the Communist Party. An intelligent struggle against communism requires judicial reinterpretation, repeal or drastic amendment of the Smith Act. It is the Act which I criticize. Trial judges in cases under the Act have, I think, conducted the trials fairly.

Under the Act, no Communist Party leader has been convicted of overt act of sedition or of a plot involving tangible and imminent danger of subversion. The net effect has been the virtual outlawry of the Communist Party which operates in the open under leaders who are known and with platforms which it submits to the electorate. This makes interpenetration more probable and harder to discover in other parties. It sets a precedent dangerous to all our liberties in our democracy.

For these reasons, I urge aid to the Charney-Trachtenberg case as Mr. Levy will argue it.

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### Van Orden Fund holds first meeting on April 11

ASSOCIATES OF THE late Katharine Armatage Van Orden, national treasurer of the Progressive Party and noted leader in N. J. civic affairs who died Feb. 20, have formed a Katharine Van Orden Fund for Freedom to carry on her work.

The organization will hold its first annual meeting Wed., Apr. 11 at Essex House in Newark with Paul Robeson, C. B. Baldwin, Aubrey Williams, John Abt, James Imbrie and John McManus among the invited speakers. The sponsors of the Fund state:

> "It is our hope to make this the first in an annual series, at each of which the duly appointed trustees . . . will award grants in aid to individuals or undertakings that serve to promote the goals she sought to reach."

Contributions may be sent to Mrs. Ida Rocklin, 218 Halsey St. Newark, N. J.

### Ike's choice

Washington, Feb. 29 (AP)—The way Sen. Scott (D-N.C.) looks at it, Ike reached his big decision because things are tough down on the farm.

Scott said today: "The President has spent a lot of time on his farm recently. He finally realizes it's a lot easier to run for re-election, heart attack or no heart attack, than to make a living farming."

# Put Yourslf In This Man's Place

JAMES E. JACKSON, JR.

YOU ARE A NEGRO.

In your hometown, Richmond, Virginia—and throughout the South—this meant inferior, segregated schools, Jim Crow transportation and votelessness. It meant daily social abuse and humiliation, constant intimidation and brutality by racist police.

**But you were a sensitive, proud and talented youth. You rebelled, as most Negroes do, against the searing brand of imposed "inferiority."**

You sought a way out and found it in a philosophy which promised security and equality for all; a movement which offered the oppressed peoples a vision of freedom, dignity and peace.

**Your choice was made early in life—at 16—when you joined the socialist student movement.**

- **In 1932 you led an interracial student delegation to the State Legislature of Virginia, demanding unsegregated schools.**
- **In 1937 you joined other youth leaders in founding the Southern Negro Youth Congress and for a decade you were an outstanding leader in its many struggles for equality and democracy.**
- **In 1938 you organized the first union of tobacco workers in Richmond.**
- **In 1940, with headquarters in Birmingham, Alabama, you launched a major campaign of Negro and white Southerners to wipe out poll taxes and win the right to vote.**
- **You investigated and reported numerous cases of lynching and police brutality; you raised your voice on public platforms and wielded a trenchant pen to arouse fellow-Americans to wipe out these horrible crimes.**

In the anti-fascist war you served with distinction as a sergeant in the 823rd Engineer Aviation Battalion in Burma and other areas of the China-India-Burma theatre of war. Returning home, you plunged into the thick of the battle to realize democracy. In 1946 you made history by leading Negro veterans to vote for the first time in Mississippi—against Bilbo.

You soon became Chairman of the Communist Party of Louisiana. Later you accepted a post as leader of the Communist auto workers in the great Ford plant in Detroit. Eventually you returned to the land of your birth, your first love, the South—as Chairman of the Southern Regional Committee of the Communist Party and a member of its national committee.

**Now you stand awaiting trial, April 9, in the Federal Courthouse at New York's Foley Square. You are charged with violating the thought-control Smith Act, fathered by a fellow-Virginian, poll-tax Dixiecrat Howard W. Smith.**

Standing trial with you are six other Communist leaders: Marian Bachrach, George Charney, Fred Fine, Bill Norman, Sid Stein and Alexander Trachtenberg. If convicted you face five years in jail and a fine of $10,000.

**IN JAMES JACKSON'S PLACE — WHAT WOULD YOU DO?**

WE BELIEVE YOU WOULD TRY to show that democracy is endangered by the prosecution of James Jackson —

- **While Eastland, inspirer of "white supremacy" defiance and violence, is made chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee;**
- **While the mobbers of Miss Autherine Lucy and the lynchers of Emmett Till, Rev. George Lee, Lamar Smith and other Negro victims go free to strike again;**
- **While the heroic leaders of the Montgomery bus boycott face jail for launching the kind of democratic protest in which James Jackson was a pace-setter for many years.**

WE BELIEVE YOU WOULD FIGHT to win your trial. You would know that your victory would be a victory for civil liberty.

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Mrs. Esther Jackson and daughters, Harriet & Kathy, ask your help.

*THE MINNESOTA AFTERMATH*

# Kefauver wins the people and makes the bosses sore

**By Elmer Bendiner**

WHEN SMOKE CLEARED from the battlefields of Minnesota last week Adlai Stevenson lay in critical condition, Secy. of Agriculture Benson was badly battered and candidate Eisenhower had lost his armor of "invincibility." Strewn about the field were the nation's top political experts, bosses, pollsters, pulse-takers and opinion molders. The lone victor was Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee who looked more than ever like a giant-killer.

On the eve of the primary balloting, March 20, Minnesota's Gov. Orville L. Freeman confidently predicted that Kefauver would get not one of the state's 30 delegates. The most any Minnesota poll would give Kefauver was 39% of the vote. The only prediction of a Kefauver victory came from Kefauver, himself: "We're over the top; we'll win."

**THE BIG UPSET:** Behind Adlai Stevenson was Minnesota Gov. Freeman, Sen. Hubert Humphrey and the entire machine of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party in the state. Labor leaders had gone down the DFL line to support Stevenson. In Kefauver's corner were only former Gov. Hjalmar Petersen, Rep. Coya Knutson (risking her political future in the cause) and two state representatives.

When the votes were tallied, Kefauver had 239,000; Stevenson, 183,000. Kefauver had 26 delegates; Stevenson, four. Two of Stevenson's delegates came from the DFL stronghold near Duluth, two others from the upper-income neighborhoods of Minneapolis. The workers in Minneapolis and St. Paul broke away from their union leaders' recommendations to vote Kefauver. The farmers, it seemed, were off the reservation, too.

The total Republican vote in the primary was 195,000, compared to the Democrats' 422,000. Allowing for the fact that there was a negligible contest for the GOP nomination (Knowland was entered, but did not campaign, against Eisenhower), the difference was still impressive. In Minnesota voters do not have to enroll in a party in order to vote in the primary. At the polls they merely request a ballot in either party and cast it. It was clear that thousands of voters who were expected to vote Republican had switched to the Democrats. In rural areas where in 1952 the GOP primary vote had quadrupled, the Democrats led by substantial margins.

**DIRE FOREBODING:** GOP wishful thinkers suggested that some Republicans had merely maneuvered to knock out Stevenson but it seemed unlikely that any wily boss could switch thousands of votes. It was more likely that the Eisenhower charm was not enough to overcome the disenchantment with the farm policies of Agricultural Secy. Ezra T. Benson.

Some observers thought Kefauver won because he was a better campaigner. He liked to stand at plant gates and shake hands with workers and when shooed away by guards he'd calmly go on to the next factory. He cheerily endured the blood and guts and smells of the St. Paul stockyards to shake butchers' hands and chat with them where they worked.

What he said was more important, though, than the hands he shook. He came out flatly for 100% parity to small farmers where Stevenson pussy-footed. He called for repeal of Taft-Hartley while Stevenson spoke of changes. He refused to sign the manifesto of his fellow-Southerners in the Senate and came out more vigorously than Stevenson for Federal support of the High Court's ruling on the schools. Though he backed the arms boom policy of the Democrats he proposed that the U.S. offer the Soviet Union a 15% reduction in arms spending on both sides with resulting benefits to undeveloped areas of the world and to taxpayers at home. Lastly he talked like the under-dog and the little fellow. He was against the DFL bosses in Minnesota and against the big business cabinet of Eisenhower.

**THE LESSON:** His record did not always match his campaigning. He hedged here and there but Kefauver had sensed the temper of the people and Minnesotans showed the readiness of the American electorate to jump the traces in answer to the call of sanity from any quarter. The lesson of Minnesota was plain to read: a free-swinging campaign that even looked remotely left-of-center could work miracles.

The Democrats promptly shielded their eyes from that handwriting on the wall. Giant-killer Kefauver who had shown he could gather not only Democratic votes but Republicans' and independents' as well, was consigned to the dog-house. James Reston in the N. Y. Times (3/23) summed up:

> "Sen. Kefauver's weakness is that he has nobody for him but people."

Reston cited an "eminent Democrat who will play a leading role in that convention":

> "I don't care if he wins every delegate in every other primary election from Florida to California, no Democratic convention will ever nominate the Senator from Tennessee to be President of the United States."

**WHAT IT TAKES:** The South has sworn it will not tolerate Kefauver on the ticket. Northern bosses, still smarting from the threat Kefauver posed to their machines with his crime investigation, do not forgive him. Not a single Senator supports him. He can win only when he goes to the people and at either the Democrat or Republican convention, the popular will is filtered through bosses who, as they proved in 1952, can readily tame the delegates and shelve a candidate whose only strength is popular.

To nominate Kefauver the Democratic Party would have to change itself beyond recognition. It would have to make up its mind to do without the solid South, make the bosses eat crow and turn itself into something like an opposition party. To work the miracle it would take a groundswell of earthquake proportions. But if the 1956 campaign is meaningful at all, its significance will come from rebellions like that in Minnesota and what independents can do to stimulate them.

The Democratic managers called a war council in Washington on April 20-21. Their leading standard-bearer had been humbled in New Hampshire as in Minnesota and was facing further challenges in Florida and California.

**FLOCK OF HATS:** Gov. Averell Harriman of New York had stepped up over Stevenson's prostrate body and announced he was "available." The news surprised no one. Harriman was known to be waiting for Kefauver to knock out Stevenson and some had suggested that Kefauver, admittedly broke, had been helped in his campaign by Harriman's wily boss, Carmine De-Sapio.

Southern Democrats, opposed to Harriman's "leftism," rallied more closely about Stevenson or threw in other hats: those of Sen. Symington of Missouri and "Happy" Chandler of Kentucky. Texas Gov. Shivers revived talk of Gov. Lausche of Ohio, the Democrat closest to the Taft wing of the Republicans. These candidates seemed a smoke-screen, for each was so unacceptable to the Northern wing that Stevenson might yet emerge as a "compromise" candidate who still has everything in his corner—but people.

LONG AND BITTER STRIKE ENDS

# The Westinghouse contract: what it means to unions

AFTER 156 TURBULENT days on strike (there was one picket-line death, countless injuries, scores of arrests), the International Union of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO, and the Westinghouse Electric Corp. signed a pact on March 20 with both sides claiming victory. Five days later the independent United Electrical Workers Union accepted substantially the same terms for about half its 10,000 striking members; some 6,000 UE strikers remained out at the company's Lester, Pa., plant over special grievances there.

It was the longest major labor struggle in more than 20 years and it was fought with a mutual bitterness that shocked even old-time mediators. Most remarkable thing about the strike is that it was forced by the company (which admits a loss of up to $300,000,000 in sales) and the unions were on the defensive from the start.

**LEAD DOG:** It began last October under a wage reopening clause in the unions' two year contract; they demanded an immediate 15c-an-hour increase. The company countered by demanding a five-year contract with a smaller pay boost, plus the right to make time-studies of day workers without union interference which would have meant speed-up, pay cuts and job losses. For both unions, the outcome meant nothing less than their survival as labor organizations. Many observers expressed bewilderment at the company's willingness to take staggering financial losses by holding out so long; others saw Westinghouse as working as the lead dog for Big Business to test the possibility of destroying a labor union.

The final outcome was a compromise. The company got its five-year contract. The union didn't get its 15c-an-hour increase this year, but won a little more than the company originally offered; the boost over the five-year period will amount to a minimum of 25c an hour with a few skilled classifications going higher. Fringe benefits were improved. The company won its demand to make time-studies of non-production workers but the union won the right of arbitration of grievances arising from it. In addition, the time studies will be limited. The IUE says only 1,500 workers will be affected, the company claims 3,000 (originally the company's plan would have covered some 20,000). Finally, incentive-pay workers will not be switched to day rates without union agreement.

**FEAR JOB LOSS:** One of the most crucial issues of the settlement was also compromised. The company had fired 93 strikers on charges that they had caused violence. Mediators had recommended that 57 be reinstated and the cases of the other 36 be arbitrated. On this the union won a small concession: Westinghouse agreed to change "discharge" to "indefinite suspension" and to permit each case to be negotiated at a plant level, with arbitration for those not taken back. Conceivably some of the 36 would be reinstated under this formula, but it was doubtful if all would get their jobs back.

The UE's holdout at the Lester, Pa., plant is over the company's demand that the entire plant there be put on day rates. Said UE leader James J. Matles:

> "We will not stand by and permit the company to cut wages of our men by 20%, which its present plan would do at Lester."

For the settlement under which half his members returned to work, Matles said:

> "We have saved our contract from company attempts to mutilate it."

**CAREY AND CO.:** IUE president James B. Carey was less modest. He called the settlement a "clear-cut victory" and predicted that "the benefits of this strike will spread like ripples throughout our industry for years to come. . . ."

A company spokesman declared:

> "All in all, we are highly pleased with the entire settlement. . . . The solution of these two issues—length of contract and the time-study question—meets Westinghouse needs completely."

In his victory statement, Carey called the strike a "history-making demonstration of trade union solidarity and militancy." This was something more than the plain truth. There was no lack of militancy on the part of the strikers and on local levels there were inspiring examples of trade union solidarity. But the massive power of the merged labor movement was never thrown behind the strikers; unions that contributed from their treasuries were few and most were former CIO affiliates. At least six AFL-CIO unions with members in the Westinghouse chain accepted the terms rejected by the IUE and UE and worked throughout the strike.

**HOLLOW RING:** In Sunnyvale, Calif., both the IUE and the AFL-CIO Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers took advantage of the strike to raid the UE local there. The IBEW won—UE strikers couldn't vote—and everybody went back to work (except the UE strikers). All told, 40 Westinghouse plants were shut down by the strike, but 58 other company plants, most of them unionized, kept working. In his victory statement, Carey had no word to say for the UE members still on the battle line. These facts gave a hollow ring to what Carey did say:

> "Never before in American labor history has there been such widespread and wholehearted strike support. Backed by the entire American labor movement, with virtually the entire AFL-CIO supporting it organizationally and financially, the Westinghouse strike became one of the first great tests of labor unity."

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*TWO SURVEYS OF THE SOUTH*

# Young people and economic power of Negroes called integration spur

By Eugene Gordon

THE FLOW OF NEWS and analysis of Southern reaction to the high court's decision outlawing jimcrow in the public schools has been continuous. The latest and most thorough was an 8-page special section of the March 13 N. Y. **Times** and an 18-page treatment in the April 3 **Look** magazine. The **Times'** "Report on the South: The Integration Issue" was the result of "an intensive five-week survey" by 10 staff writers in 17 states and the Dist. of Columbia, where jimcrow schools were maintained before May 17, 1954. **Look's** "The South vs. The Supreme Court" was prepared by 10 staff writers and photographers traveling through the South.

The **Times** found integration proceeding in the Dist. of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and Virginia. All 17 Southern states were watching Washington, for, although the capital—with its 475,000 white and 365,000 Negro population—may not be a model, "there is no question that the Capital is as thoroughly integrated in all phases of its community life as any other city in the country."

**THE INTEGRATERS:** Kentucky agreed at once to comply with the court ruling. By the start of next season's school term, integration will be well under way in all districts. Some Marylanders opposed it, but the state as a whole "is moving faster toward integration than even its leaders claim." Missouri Negro pupils "are now sitting at desks once reserved for whites only," while integration in some form "has taken place in counties where 85% of the pupils live." The **Times** credits "the leadership of its Governor" for Oklahoma's first step toward integration. To some degree, school districts in more than half the counties are desegregated. In W. Virginia all counties with Negro residents have started to desegregate.

**THE DELAYERS:** States divided or delaying are listed by the **Times** as Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Louisiana, N. Carolina, Tennessee and Texas. Only three Arkansas school districts have begun to comply; but at the university level that state was a pioneer in integration. As Delaware's "northern industrial one-third" moves gradually toward desegregation and the southern two-thirds resists, Florida as a whole maintains jimcrow. Louisiana, though "Deep South in its attitudes," has, largely through Catholic church leadership, taken significant steps toward compliance. North Carolina has not begun integrating, "but there are signs of a willingness to start." Tennessee, divided, is making progress, while Texas is a "kind of heaven" for Negro rights compared with Mississippi.

**THE RESISTERS:** The **Times** thus summarized under "States Resisting":

> **Alabama.** This state stands as a symbol of Southern resistance to desegregate. Racial barriers seem to be rising. There is no race-mixing except in one Roman Catholic and one Negro institution.
>
> **Georgia.** The state flatly refuses to integrate its schools and is using every device to circumvent the Supreme Court's decision. Even here, however, legal segregation seems on the way out.
>
> **Mississippi.** Among Southern states Mississippi is probably farthest from integration. Yet, racial barriers are being buffeted. There are intimations that segregation may one day end.
>
> **S. Carolina.** Not a single Negro has been admitted to a "white" public school. . . Serious trouble might result from an immediate attempt to enforce desegregation. Yet integration seems inevitable.
>
> **Virginia.** In gentlemanly but determined fashion, the state is fighting integration, armed with the weapon of interposition. There has been no desegregation, and there are no immediate plans for any.

Los Angeles Daily Mirror

**AS THE CROW WALKS**

**THE "LOOK" FINDINGS:** **Look's** report differed in some details from the **Times'**: Among the resisters, the magazine omitted Virginia but added Louisiana. It said:

> "Seven—Texas, Oklahoma, Missouri, Kentucky, W. Virginia, Maryland and Delaware (plus Washington, D. C.)—have already desegregated some 250,000 Negro pupils."

The **Times** listed Delaware and Texas as "delaying."

The two reports were basically in agreement. The **Times** observed:

> "The desegregation issue will not be decided simply on the basis of the Supreme Court's order, [for the] decision will have to take into account the degree and kind of integration that can be enforced and what is acceptable in a given community at a given time."

**Look** declared:

> "Without a criminal statute, desegregation has no teeth—save only that a state official can be jailed or fined for contempt of court if he disobeys an order specifically and personally directed against him. Without more and more Supreme Court decisions, the South can go on using all manner of devices that get around the letter of the original ruling, until each in its turn is forbidden. And it is primarily on these two facts that the defiant sections of the South are relying to delay or perhaps defeat desegregation. . . ."

**SEE HOPE IN THE YOUTH:** The **Times** felt that the "new South," as a matter of national welfare, will have to adjust itself to racial goodwill, that efforts of the Southern Regional Council, with its "human relations sessions," will help integration. It saw hope in the younger people, who "frequently indicate that they do not regard themselves as having a vested responsibility in the old order."

Pointing to a final victory for the court decision were the Negroes' "growing economic power" as a weapon of counter-reprisal against the White Citizens Councils, the fact that integration is already common in Federal military installations, and the Negroes' increasing voting strength.

**Look,** observing that "the trend toward compliance, toward integration, may have been arrested in certain states," pointed up these "trends" in that direction:

- "Believers in integration have "the authority of the Supreme Court squarely behind" them.
- Many Southerners' "deep-seated racial prejudice . . . has not always been inherited by their sons and daughters."
- "The South, as a geographic entity and a state of mind, is disappearing. New industries, new jobs and new people are churning up a long-stagnant area. Southern attitudes and stereotypes are being submerged in the process."
- "Integration in other fields—in industry and the army—is cracking the hard crust of discrimination and compelling whites to think of their Negro neighbors in different terms."
- "Southern Negroes—better educated, better organized, stronger politically and economically—will no longer be pushed around."

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Choice Seats: Orchestra Hall recitals. May 7: Mstislav Rostropovich, Soviet Cellist. May 18: Pete Seeger & Weavers, folksingers. Call AN 3-1877 or come to Suite 403, 189 W. Madison.

KUMAR GOSHAL speaks on "The World Since Bandung" plus the showing of two films "Bandung Conference" and "Premier Nehru's Visit to the Soviet Union." Sat., April 7, 8:15 p.m., at Albany Park Center, 4825 N. Kedzie. Door contribution: $1.

## Detroit

DEBATE AND DISCUSSION on meaning and results of Soviet party congress. Speakers: G. Brietman, M Mitchnick. Fri., April 13, 8 p.m., at 3000 Grand River. Ausp.: Friday Night Socialist Forum.

KUMAR GOSHAL speaks on "The World Since Bandung," plus exclusive films on the Bandung Conference and Premier Nehru's tour of the USSR. Sun., April 8, 8 p.m., at 18266 Coyle, nr. Outer Drive. Admission: Free.

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## San Francisco

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS speaks against SACB witch-hunt attack on the California Labor School, Fri., April 13, 8 p.m., Hotel Whitcomb. Entertainment. Robert W. Kenny, chairman. Auspices: Comm. for Defense of Academic Freedom.

THIRD ANNUAL BANQUET
Dalton Trumbo, Guest Speaker. Lee Winter, Concert Baritone. Richard Lynden, Trade Unionist, I. L. W. U., Local 6, Chairman. Abner Green, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Sat., April 14, California Hall, 625 Polk St. Reservations: $2.50. For reservations: Northern Calif. Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Room 417, 948 Market St. YUkon 2-5984.

## Van Nuys, Calif.

DR W. E. B. DuBOIS speaks on "EDUCATION AND STATES RIGHTS." Sun., April 8, 8 p.m., Valley Unitarian - Universalist Church, 14933 Victory Blvd., Van Nuys. Donation: $1.

## Newark, N. J.

KATHERINE VAN ORDEN Fund for Freedom Meeting, Wed., April 11, 8:15 p.m., Essex House, 1050 Broad St., Newark. Speakers: John Abt, C. B. Baldwin, Jessie Campbell, Catherine Hoffman, James Imbrie, John T. McManus, Mrs. Frederich Melcher, Paul Robeson, Aubrey Williams. In memory of Mrs. Van Orden, Progressive Party officer and civil leader, died Feb. 20, 1956.

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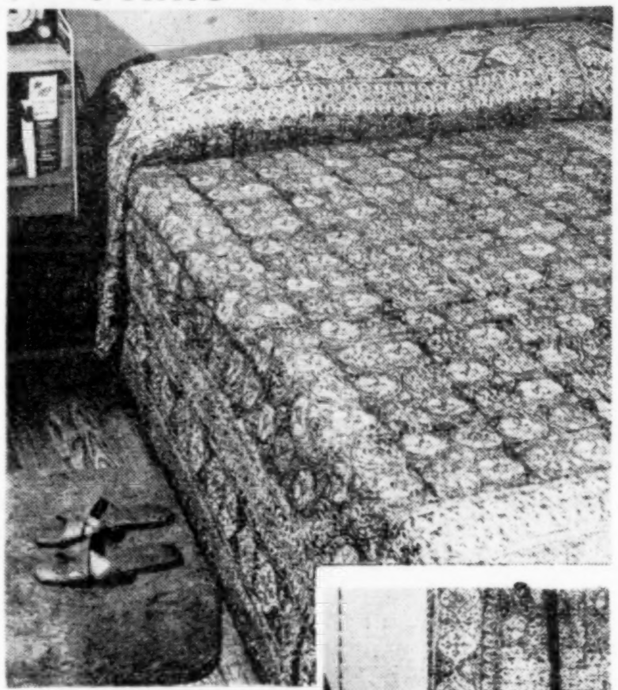

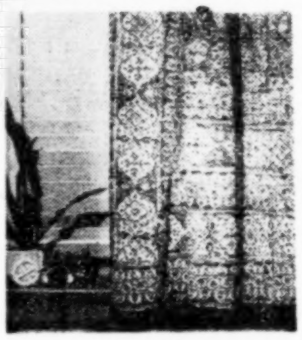

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## Poor Richard III

I HAVE HEARD that Sir Laurence Olivier lives in a remodeled 13th century abbey and that he has the gout. Also I hear that he told a N. Y. **Times** writer about his problem in making his latest film from Shakespeare's **Richard III**. "By editing and transposing and just plain horsing around, you have to get the story flowing," Sir Laurence said. I say:

"Horsing around is right, Sir Laurence. Two-sword Larry rides again! Heigho, Shakespeare—away! Onto the silver screen once more charges the gallant knight, mounted on his faithful and intelligent friend, William of Stratford."

Of course this is a vulgar and flippant way to talk about a film in which **four** famous knights are actors, including Sir John Gielgud, Sir Ralph Richardson and Sir Cedric Hardwicke. Dare we jest about a film for which NBC paid one-half of a million dollars, simply for the privilege of televising it? After all, the opening in Washington was under the patronage of Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower. And Salvador Dali painted a cover for **Newsweek** showing Sir Laurence as Richard with two faces. Also our leading journals, from the **Times** to the **Saturday Review of Literature,** have said that the major plastic surgery done on Shakespeare's play was a great success. And the film already had three British Film Academy awards when it came here. All this makes it practically official art throughout the Anglo-American empire, doesn't it?

Des Moines Register
**"Don't be alarmed . . . it doesn't work."**

**A CLUMSY SURGEON:** Yet some of us stubbornly and ungratefully insist that Sir Laurence is a clumsy surgeon. True, Shakespeare's **Richard III** is an early and clumsy play, well below his best level of writing. Still, it deals with wicked human beings in dramatic conflict. No doubt it requires editing and transposing, and of course the villainous Richard must dominate in it. But Sir Laurence cuts out so many lines and scenes and characters, and the acting of the distinguished cast, except for him, is so weak, that we are left with little more than a crude portrait of a monster devouring victims.

As is usual in Shakespeare, the women of the play are vigorous, intelligent, and passionate. But in Olivier most of their fiery lines are missing except for some spoken by Lady Anne, later Richard's queen, and she delivers witty ripostes and scorching curses in expiring accents. Indeed, when she spits in Richard's face, she does so prettily. The terrible, vengeful old Queen Margaret is thrown out altogether ("poor dear," says Olivier), though she is the second focus of Shakespeare's play. For her eloquent fury we have a silent substitute, the adulteress Jane Shore, played by Pamela Brown, who seems to have no clear function in the film.

**THE "MODERN" WAY:** However, "hollow men" have an excellent resource nowadays: if they create no art, critics will invent some. An ingenious writer for **Time** magazine finds Olivier's Richard "an elemental force, the principle of evil itself" and sees both "genius" and "high poetic terror" in his Doug Fairbanks leaps from balcony to bell rope, "epileptic with triumph" and in "insane lust to see the first man bend the knee."

Sexuality, evil, terror, insanity, lust. . . . Can we see here which way the wind blows and do we recognize the familiar stench it brings to our nostrils? This is the "modern" way. We have sex, shock, sewer, and symbolism instead of society. We have one ferocious beast, Olivier as Richard, instead of Shakespeare's picture of an entire political and criminal nobility.

The weakening of all characters except for one monster goes far toward making this an inhuman film, but Sir Laurence goes farther. He makes special efforts. Shakespeare's London citizens are bitterly aware of the criminal nobility above them, but Olivier's citizens are stupid and are deceived by Richard with ridiculous ease. Shakespeare's murderers are human villains. They must push one another to their horrid deeds, and one of them refuses at the last moment to carry out the plot against Richard's brother, Clarence. But Olivier's murderers are "pure" and "absolute" assistant monsters right out of the cartoons of Charles Addams.

**KETCHUP ON THE AXES:** Having removed most of the humanity, drama, politics and poetry from Shakespeare's play, what does Sir Laurence put in? He adds passionate embraces, a benevolent Cardinal, lots of ketchup on swords and axes, coronation scenes, ominous shadows, murders, a battle. Thus we get the effect of a horse opera or mystery thriller—much activity and "atmosphere" but action that is slow, jerky and confusing.

I agree that Sir Laurence is a most accomplished actor, if not "the world's foremost." But as director and "thinker" he takes the eloquent life and conflict out of Shakespeare and replaces this with monkey-business and propaganda against humanity.

"Hey you, there in your grave at Stratford! Will you please stop that whirling!"

**Charles Wason**